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Memorial

Sir William Pepperrell

Hall of Fame

To the Electors of the Hall of Fame,
New York University:

In connection with placing the name of Sir William Pepperrell in nomination for the Hall of Fame, the Pepperrell Association begs to submit this Memorial, prepared by Honorable Everett P. Wheeler of New York City.

RALPH S. BARTLETT,
President of the Pepperrell Association,
53 State Street, Boston, Mass.

July 29, 1920.

SIR WILLIAM PEPPERRELL

FROM PORTRAIT BY SMYBERT, BELONGING TO KENNETH PEPPERRELL BUDD, OF NEW YORK, AND NOW IN METROPOLITAN MUSEUM.

Memorial

In support of the nomination of the name of Sir William Pepperrell, to be inscribed in the Hall of Fame for Great Americans.

✣

That fortune aided him is true, but it was in the manner she favors the pilot, who watching every changing wind, every shifting current, makes all subservient to his purpose. — *Napier.*

JOHN P. BROOKS
PRESIDENT OF THE PEPPERRELL ASSOCIATION

EVERETT P. WHEELER
FREDERIC H. WILKINS
GEORGE B. LEIGHTON
COMMITTEE

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Memorial

In support of the nomination of the name of Sir William Pepperrell to be inscribed in the Hall of Fame for Great Americans

The rules for elections to the Hall of Fame provide for fifteen classes and require a selection according to the definition of "famous" in the new English Dictionary: "The condition of being much talked about, chiefly in a good sense, or reputation from great achievements." There is also provision, for "more justly famous," indicating that there may be a candidate who would be eligible for selection, but who is not so especially eligible as to be selected as one of the American men who are in any one year to be chosen. It may therefore follow that a candidate of one season should fail of election because it is thought that other candidates are more justly famous. Hence it has frequently happened in the history of nominations for the Hall of Fame that the candidate for one year who has received a number of votes, but not a sufficient number, should be elected in a subsequent season. In 1910 it appears from the report to the electors made by the Senate of New York University, that William Pepperrell received the votes of four college presidents, three professors of history and scientists, five publicists, editors and authors, and five jurors, making seventeen in all. In that report he was classed among famous American soldiers. Undoubtedly his military achievements were those which gave him greatest fame, but in judging of the man he should be ranked in the Seventh or General Class. He was for twenty-eight years an upright and efficient chief justice, learned in the law of his colony. He was a statesman who presided over the Massachusetts Council for the Colony of

Massachusetts for thirteen years, who during part of that time was acting governor of Massachusetts, and whose advice was sought by the British Ministry in Colonial affairs in times of great difficulty and perplexity. Beside all this he was the most successful merchant of his time in America. Such a combination of offices would be impossible in our more complicated civilization. It was not so uncommon in Colonial days, but no man in our Colonial history filled so important a place, in so many and such varied positions of importance and responsibility as did Sir William Pepperrell.

In support of his nomination we submit the following considerations.

First.

One colonial should be selected. As Freeman said in his lecture on George Washington (Feb. 22, 1886): "Men like them had gone before him; his work needed theirs as its forerunner; Virginia, Massachusetts and their fellows needed to be called into being, before he should come, whose calling was to weld them into one greater whole." It is essential to the true perspective of American history that we should give prominence and dignity to the great colonials. They did work of permanent importance not only for their own country, but for the world. It is hard to over-estimate the influence of the American system of government upon public sentiment and institutions throughout the civilized world. Of this system they laid the foundation.

The name of one of these colonials has been inscribed in the Hall of Fame, Jonathan Edwards. He represents the Puritan, Calvinistic element on its religious side. What gave him fame was his treatise on the freedom of the will. It is certainly a work of extraordinary acumen. It was well, we may frankly admit, to place a representative of that side of the Colonial character on our roll of American worthies. But may we not fairly say that this metaphysical side was not the only important side? The great Roman said that "the founding of a commonwealth was a

work most pleasing to the gods." Certainly Americans will agree that the foundation of our American commonwealth was well pleasing to the Almighty, who is the God at once of justice, of freedom, of law and of mercy. It is a serious omission, that there should not be in the Hall of Fame the name of one of these great founders, whose death occurred before the Revolution.

It is natural that the lustre of the great names of men who achieved their fame after the Declaration of Independence should have obscured for a time that of those under whose guidance and leadership the thirteen colonies attained the strength and mutual understanding, without which the revolution would have been a failure, and American independence impossible.

But it should never be forgotten that the Constitution of the United States was an evolution. In any just view of American history the men who took part in this evolution and made its success possible, should not be forgotten. Washington, Franklin, Jefferson and Adams are rightly inscribed in the Hall of Fame. Their achievements were the legitimate outgrowth and development of the deeds of the great colonials.

We respectfully submit that of these no one is better entitled to be inscribed in the Hall of Fame than Sir William Pepperrell.

Second.

Pepperrell was the most famous colonial of his time. He was the only colonial who was made a baronet. He was the only colonial who received the commission of Major General, and afterwards of Lieutenant General in the British Regular Army. He was the only colonial in honor of whose achievements not only the cities of the colonies, but London itself, were illuminated. He was the only colonial who received a service of plate from the city of London in honor of his achievements. He is the only colonial in whose honor a stately monument outside the limits of the United States has been erected. I refer to the monument erected by the Society of Colonial Wars at Louisburg in 1895, the 150th Anniversary of the surrender of that city. He is the

only colonial in whose honor, one hundred and fifty years after his great achievements, a devout service of thanksgiving to Almighty God was celebrated in the leading city of what are now the United States of America, that is to say at St. Paul's Church in New York City, on the twenty-fourth day of March, 1895. Finally, he is the only colonial from the colonies forming the United States, in honor of whose achievements a permanent memorial has been proposed and provided for by the public spirit of a Canadian barrister and by an Act of the Parliament of Nova Scotia. In 1904 David J. Kennelly, K. C., created a Louisburg Memorial Fund, and made a will in which he bequeathed the major part of his estate to trustees of this fund to be applied for the preservation of the Fortress of Louisburg and to the commemoration of the achievement of its capture in 1745. These trustees were incorporated by Chapter 56 of the Acts of Nova Scotia passed in the year 1906, which act was amended by Chapter 59 of the Acts of Nova Scotia of 1912. The original act is entitled "An Act to incorporate the trustees of the French Fortress and old burying ground at Louisburg as an historical monument of the Dominion of Canada and as a public work." The chairman of the Committee now addressing you was named as one of the trustees for the reason that he is himself a lineal descendant of Sir William Pepperrell. Mr. Kennelly's object "was to protect the existing remains of the Old French Fortress and burying ground and to erect a masonry tower * * * which shall constitute a museum."

Of the Memorial Fund created by Mr. Kennelly, King Edward accepted the position of Patron, the American Ambassador, Mr. Choate, the French Ambassador, M. Cambon, and the Earl of Minto, Governor-General of Canada, became Honorary Vice Patrons, and some of the most distinguished men of England and America — among them Lord Halsbury, Lord Wolseley, Lord Strathcona, President Eliot, Bishop Lawrence, Senator Hoar, Admiral Dewey, became Vice Patrons. President Roosevelt wrote this letter commending the plan:

Oyster Bay, July 7, 1905.

My Dear Sir, —

Mr. Choate has forwarded to me your letter with references to the Louisburg Memorial. It is hardly necessary for me to say, I trust, how heartily I sympathize with you in your purpose. It is in every way fit and proper that there should be such a memorial, for it commemorates an incident that links the history of our continent in a peculiar way with that of the old world. With cordial good wishes for the success of the undertaking,

I am sincerely yours,

Theodore Roosevelt.

David J. Kennelly, Esq.

Third.

Pepperrell was the most enterprising and successful colonial merchant and one of the most distinguished colonial statesmen.

He was the most skilful and successful colonial general. Under his leadership regiments from the different colonies learned to coöperate against regular troops entrenched behind strong fortifications. The veterans of Louisburg were the backbone of the New England forces at the beginning of the revolution.

As Senator Root said at a dinner of the Society of Colonial Wars:

" The descendants of the men trained in these early struggles were the men who were to meet an emergency which was of the highest importance to the whole civilized world, and they were able to defeat the veterans of England.

" This training gave to the soldiers of the Revolution the vigor and strength that enabled them to stand against overwhelming odds."

He received the highest honor in the gift of his native colony, — President of the Council.

He received, as has been shown, the highest honors conferred before the Revolution by the British Government upon a colonial.

He was a typical American; typical of the time when the exigencies of life were such that a man of talent could not limit

himself or his intelligence to one particular occupation, but was compelled to play many parts, which in a later and more complex civilization would be filled by different individuals.

William Pepperrell commenced life as a merchant, and a merchant he continued for thirty years. Yet during that time he became Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas in Maine. He was President of His Majesty's Council for the Colony of Massachusetts. As general of the colonial forces, he conducted the most successful and brilliant of the campaigns in which the colonists were unaided by troops from the mother country.

What is commonly known as an education — that is to say scholastic training — was vouchsafed to few colonials. William Pepperrell, like most of the young men of his time, had little instruction in school beside reading, writing and arithmetic. His father, however, employed an instructor who taught him surveying and navigation — the measuring of the land, and the tracing of a pathway over the trackless ocean — two arts which to a colonist and navigator were essential. His frame was hardened by constant activity in the open air, by contests with the savages, by explorations in the woods of Maine, by voyages on the sea. He met in the course of these adventures all sorts and conditions of men, from the Governors in Boston, and in the old mansion at Portsmouth, which Longfellow has immortalized, to the Indian in the forest. His mind and heart were enlarged by the spirit of progress which filled the breast of every active colonist, and the capacity to command, which distinguished him throughout his life, showed itself at an early age.

As partner in his father's commercial enterprises he extended the sphere of business of the firm. Their warehouses were filled with fish from the Banks of Newfoundland, with sugar and molasses from the West Indies, with hemp and iron, linen and silk, from Great Britain, with naval stores from the Carolinas. The firm owned more than a hundred vessels and their name and ensign were to be seen in London and Bristol, in the Havannah, and at Charleston, Wilmington and Boston. The fortune in-

creased rapidly, and part of it was invested in immense tracts of land in Maine, where the great pine trees were cut and floated down the rivers, and built into ships which added in their turn to the wealth and prosperity of the firm of William Pepperrell and Son. Soon after he was twenty-four he established a branch of the house in Boston; in 1726 he was chosen representative from Kittery to the Massachusetts Legislature, and in the following year was appointed by Governor Belcher a member of the Massachusetts Council. (It will be remembered that Maine was then a part of Massachusetts.) When hardly twenty-one years of age he was commissioned as a captain of a company of cavalry, and soon after became major and lieutenant-colonel. In the same year in which he was elected representative to the Legislature, he was commissioned colonel and placed in command of all the Maine militia.

In 1730 he was appointed by the Governor Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas for Maine, and this office he continued to hold until his death. Immediately upon his appointment he sent to London for a law library. The records of his court, and the testimony of all his contemporaries, show that, though not bred a lawyer, he administered justice with firm and even hand to the entire satisfaction of litigants, and of the whole community.

In 1734 his father died, and he succeeded to the business of the firm, and to the greater part of the large tracts of land in Maine, of which his father had become the owner. This accession to his fortune did not diminish his activity. He became and continued President of the Council for the Colony of Massachusetts. For both public and private reasons he resided with his family during a large part of every year in Boston, where his two children, Elizabeth and Andrew, were educated.

Fourth.

Meanwhile, the politics and wars of Europe were a source of constant interest and apprehension to the colonists. England

had been at war with Spain, and the naval battles which the two nations, then more equally matched, fought for the possession of the West Indies, were a source of as much interest in Boston and New York, as they were in London and Bristol. The English were getting the better of the conflict, and the apprehension became general that Spain would seek and secure an alliance with France, and that the result would be a war between the allied powers and England, which would involve the colonies.

In 1743, Governor Shirley received dispatches from England, that in all probability war would soon be declared. In October of that year he transmitted the intelligence to Colonel Pepperrell, with instructions to put the frontier immediately in a state of preparation for war. A copy of this, Pepperrell at once transmitted to his officers, adding: "I hope that He who gave us breath will give us the courage and prudence to behave ourselves as true-born Englishmen."

On the 15th of March, 1744, war was declared by the French, and hostilities at once began in Nova Scotia. The islands of Cape Breton and Newfoundland are on opposite sides of the entrance to the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The French, in order to guard this entrance and protect their Canadian possessions, had erected on the island of Cape Breton, the great citadel of Louisburg, the strongest fortress in the new world. The garrison of this fortress was a constant menace to the colonists, and the fort itself was a depot of warlike supplies for all the French armies in Canada. The harbor was capacious, and afforded a safe anchorage for the French men-of-war, a place of refuge for their merchantmen and fishing vessels, and a convenient rendezvous for their privateers. Thence they sallied forth to ravage colonial commerce. There they sought refuge with their prizes.[1] The entrance to this harbor is only twelve hundred feet wide, and in the center of this channel is an island similar to that on which Fort Sumter is built at the entrance to Charleston harbor.

[1] See Commemoration sermon, preached by Dr. Thomas Prince, in Old South Church, Boston, July 18, 1745, p. 19, Mass. Hist. Soc. Collection Pamphlets, Series VII.

On this island the French had erected a fort and another was placed within range, on the northwestern side of the harbor; the three fortifications being thus arranged so as to cover each other. The ramparts were of stone, from thirty to thirty-six feet high, with a ditch eighty feet wide, and extended over a circuit of nearly two miles. The works had been building for nearly twenty-five years, and were believed to be impregnable by any force that the British could bring against them.

The French had been preparing for war, and had secured the neutrality and possibly the alliance of many of the Penobscot Indians, who up to that time had been believed to be friendly to the English. Colonel Pepperrell went to them at the head of a delegation, asking for their support in the war, but the application was refused, the Sagamores stating that they would not fight against their brethren of St. John's and New Brunswick. No one could tell how far the defection had extended, and the conviction became general in New England that, as long as this formidable fortress remained so near her borders, the colonists could never hope for security. The Legislatures of the New England colonies in winter session discussed plans for action, and sent letters to the provinces of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. The Legislature of New York, upon Governor Clinton's recommendation, appropriated three thousand pounds for the expenses of the expedition, and the Governor at his own expense sent cannon. Pennsylvania sent provisions. But these colonies furnished no troops to the expedition which followed. The New England colonies were not, however, daunted, and resolved to summon all their forces for the attack. The immense armies that were raised in this country during the civil war; the still more numerous hosts of the present war in Europe have so accustomed us to enormous hosts, that those which were engaged in any of our previous wars seem to us insignificant. The whole number of troops engaged in the Louisburg expedition would not have furnished a division to the army of the Potomac. But in considering the importance of the undertaking, we should com-

pare these numbers with those of our earlier wars. Massachusetts raised for the expedition, 3,250; Rhode Island, 300; New Hampshire, 300, and Connecticut, 500; an army larger than that with which General Taylor undertook the conquest of Mexico, and nearly equal to that with which he won the battle of Buena Vista. Yet that army was raised by the whole United States at a time when our population was nearly ten times the population of the colonies at the Revolution, and more than twenty times that of New England in 1745.

Not only did the colonists send an army, but they contributed a portion of the navy that sailed for Louisburg; fourteen vessels with 204 guns.

When the New England Legislatures had provided for raising troops, the question arose, who should command them. A long period of peace had left the colonists without officers of experience in large military manœuvres. But amongst those who had commanded in the border wars with the Indians, there was none who possessed the confidence of the people as did William Pepperrell, and he was unanimously selected for the position. He was reluctant to accept it, and, while the matter was under consideration, consulted his guest, the famous George Whitefield, who was then on one of his missionary expeditions through New England. Whitefield's reply was frank. He said: "I do not think the scheme very promising; if you take the appointment the eyes of all will be upon you; if you do not succeed, the widows and orphans of the slain will reproach you. If you should succeed, many will regard you with envy, and endeavor to eclipse your glory. You ought, therefore, if you go at all, to go with a single eye, and you will find your strength proportioned to your necessity."

Governor Shirley assured Pepperrell that there was no one else in New England, under whose leadership the colonists could be sure of raising the troops necessary for the purpose. He accepted in the spirit Whitefield had urged. He then asked the

great religious leader to give him a motto for the colonial flag. The motto given was characteristic of the enterprise. It was "Nil Desperandum, Christo Duce." The religious spirit which had brought so many of the colonists to New England had lost none of its enthusiasm.

The Massachusetts troops sailed on the 24th of March, 1745, for Canso Bay, which was the place agreed upon for a rendezvous. On this very day a solemn service of prayer for the success of the expedition was held in St. Paul's, New York. Meanwhile Governor Shirley was in correspondence with Commodore Peter Warren, who commanded the West India fleet. He at first declined to take part in the expedition. The refusal was received the very day before Pepperrell sailed, but he was nothing daunted and determined to make the attempt with the colonial forces alone. About three weeks, however, after the arrival at Canso, and while the men were at work making their own cartridges (a fact which illustrates one of the differences between the warfare of those days and that of modern times), three large men-of-war loomed up on the horizon. These were soon discovered to be under the command of Commodore Warren. The troops sailed from Canso on the 29th of April, and arrived the next morning at Gabarus Bay. The precautions which Pepperrell had directed, to conceal the proximity of the troops from the garrison at Louisburg, had been entirely successful, and the first intelligence they had of the expedition was the arrival of the English and provincial fleet and the boats in which the soldiers rowed ashore. A detachment from the garrison was at once sent out to meet them, and, on the rocky coast of the island, the first blood was shed in the campaign. The provincials effected a landing, and drove the garrison back to their walls. A detachment of the invading army was at once dispatched to reconnoitre, and captured the royal battery on the northwestern side of the harbor. It had been, from the first, part of Pepperrell's plan to take this battery. He had ascertained the calibre of the guns. They

were larger than any of his own. He determined to capture them and had balls made in Boston to fit them. The captured guns were speedily turned against the citadel.

Meanwhile the remainder of the army landed, and the troops encamped in the sight of the ramparts. These fortifications, to the provincials, unused to such solid walls, seemed formidable indeed. Major Pomroy, of Northampton, who had been detailed to dig out the touchholes of the cannon that the French had spiked, and who afterwards commanded with distinction at Lake George and Bunker Hill, wrote to his wife: "Louisburg is an exceedingly strong place and seems impregnable. It looks as if our campaign would last long, but I am willing to stay till God's time comes to deliver the city into our hands."

General Pepperrell at once undertook to concert with Commodore Warren a plan of campaign. But the Commodore always found some good reason for not sending his marines to assist in an attack on the Island battery at the entrance to the harbor, which Pepperrell desired to storm, and all the combinations which the American general endeavored to effect for this purpose came to naught. The British ships guarded the entrance to the harbor, and captured a number of vessels, some of which were laden with supplies for the garrison, and they furnished some gunners and powder for the siege guns. This was their contribution to the success of the enterprise.

Colonel Gridley was assigned by Pepperrell to the construction of the trenches and the mounting of siege guns. Thirty years afterwards Gridley marked out the line of the famous intrenchment of Bunker Hill. "When Gage was erecting breastworks across Boston Neck, the provincial troops sneeringly remarked that his mud walls were nothing compared with the stone walls of old Louisburg."

The first parallel was begun about 4,600 feet from the northwest bastion. The provincials soon constructed another at about half the distance from the ramparts, and brought into action a mortar battery which commenced a brisk bombardment. A

constant cannonade was kept up, the circle of fire gradually drew closer to the city, and on the 15th of May, a battery was finished a thousand feet from the west gate.

The breach which had been made in the wall was gradually enlarging. The French constructed in the night a battery in the breach, but this was soon silenced by the provincial artillery. Signals were concerted, scaling ladders carried to the front, storming parties were told off, and all was ready for an assault when, on the 15th of June, Governor Duchambon sent out a flag of truce. The terms of capitulation were agreed upon on the 16th and 17th. The French were to march out with the honors of war and lay down their arms, and it was stipulated that they should "in consideration of the gallant defence," be sent back to France. On the 17th Pepperrell marched in at the head of his army, and the French garrison, numbering 1,960, surrendered. "Thus," says Bancroft, "did the strongest fortress of North America capitulate to an army of undisciplined New England mechanics and farmers and fishermen. It was the greatest success achieved by England during the war."[2]

Some historians have been disposed to attribute to good fortune, and not to skill, this remarkable victory. To them we may reply in the language of Napier[3] at the end of his account of the third siege of Badajos. This "has so often been adduced in evidence, that not skill, but fortune, plumed his (Wellington's) ambitious wing; a proceeding indeed most consonant to the nature of man, for it is hard to avow inferiority by attributing an action so stupendous to superior genius alone."

Fifth.

The importance of this expedition was realized in other colonies before it sailed. James Alexander writes to Cadwallader Colden, New York, March 10, 1745:

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[2] History of the United States. Ed. 1850, Vol. III, p. 463.

[3] History of the Peninsular War. Am. Ed. 1842, Vol. III, p. 238.

"The Boston Expedition against Cape Breton is a bold undertaking. If it succeed it will be the most glorious thing that has been done this war, and the most useful if the conquest can be kept, for it's the only place of Rendezvous that the French have to annoy the northern plantations with from the sea."

The news of the capture of Louisburg was received on both sides of the Atlantic with the utmost joy, not unmingled with surprise. The fortress was so important, the French had been so long engaged in its construction, the means employed for its reduction appeared to European generals so insignificant, that the success almost transcended belief. On this side of the Atlantic, Boston and Salem, New York and Philadelphia, blazed with bonfires and illuminations, and resounded with the ringing of bells and the firing of cannon.

The Rev. Dr. Chauncy wrote to Pepperrell from Boston on the fourth of July, a day which then had not the significance which with us it has since obtained:

"I heartily congratulate you upon the news which we received yesterday about break of day, of the reduction of Cape Breton. The people of Boston before sunrise were as thick about the streets as on an election day, and a pleasing joy visibly set on the countenance of every one met with.

"As God has made you an instrument of so much service to your country, at the hazard of your life, and the expense of great labor and fatigue, your name is deservedly and universally spoken of with respect, and *I doubt not will be handed down with honor to the latest posterity.*

"We had last night the finest illumination I ever beheld with my eyes. I believe there was not a house in town, in no by-lane or alley, but joy might be seen through its windows. The night also was made joyful by bonfires, fireworks and all other external tokens of rejoicing; but I hope we shall in a better manner still commemorate the goodness of God in this remarkable victory obtained against our enemies. I hear next Thursday

is set apart for a day of general thanksgiving through the province, and I believe there is not a man in the country but will heartily join the thanksgiving to God for his appearance on our behalf."

The contemporary accounts are too graphic not to be quoted:

"Now the churl and the niggard became generous, and even the poor forgot their poverty; and in the evening the whole town (Boston) appeared, as it were, in a blaze, almost every house being finely illuminated."

"At night the whole city (New York) was splendidly illuminated, and the greatest demonstration of joy appeared in every man's countenance upon hearing the good news."[4]

But the public rejoicings were not confined to the colonies. Tower Hill, Cheapside, and the Strand were illuminated as well as Beacon Street and Broadway. The messenger who brought to London the news of the surrender received a present of five hundred guineas. Pepperrell was made a baronet, and was commissioned colonel in the British Regular Army.[5]

Pepperrell remained in command at Louisburg until 1746, and here the Legislature of Massachusetts sent him an address, congratulating him and his officers and soldiers, and tendering the grateful acknowledgments of the colony for their important services.

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[4] New York Weekly Post Boy, July 15, 1745.

In the same paper, a week later, the local poet thus gave expression to the general jubilation:

ON THE TAKING OF CAPE BRETON.

When glorious Anne Britannia's sceptre swayed,
And Lewis strove all Europe to invade,
Great Marlborough then, in Blenheim's hostile fields,
With Britain's sons, o'erthrew the Gallic shields.
The Western world and Pepperrell now may claim
As equal honor and as lasting fame;
And Warren's merit will in story last,
'Til future ages have forgot the past.

[5] See in the Appendix extracts from the London Magazine for 1744 and 1745 which show the importance of the expedition and the fame of its great leader.

SIXTH.

In 1746, Sir William returned to Boston, and was reëlected President of the Council, which was then in session. He and Sir Peter Warren received a public reception from the Legislature, which was also in session, and on the fifth of July, Sir William left the city for his country seat at Kittery. His journey thither was like a royal progress. He was received at the different towns at which he stopped, by companies of mounted troops, and was welcomed everywhere with military salutes, illuminations and festivities.

In 1749 he visited England and was received with marked distinction. After his return, and in 1753, he conducted important negotiations with the Indians of Maine. In 1754 he received orders to raise a regiment of foot for the royal service, and while in New York on military business in 1755, received a commission as major-general in the British Regular Army. Jealousy on the part of Governor Shirley kept him from service in the field at that time, but he exerted himself actively to raise troops for the war then going on with the French, and he was entrusted with the command of the forces which guarded the frontiers of Maine, New Hampshire and Massachusetts. He was efficient and successful in the work entrusted to him by the Newcastle ministry. But the campaign generally was unfortunate. When Pitt came into power he sent over two skilful generals, Amherst and Wolfe, and gave Pepperrell the chief command in the colonies. Had it not been for sickness, the result of hardship and exposure at Louisburg, he would have taken the field and actively shared the glories of Quebec and the capture of Fort Duquesne. The campaign which led to the overthrow of the French sway, in Canada, and prepared the way for the American Revolution, was fought according to the plans laid down by Pepperrell. Just as the war began to be successful, on the seventh of July, 1759, he died.

To quote from Parsons' Life of Pepperrell (p. 314):

" When the former ministry was changed to make room for

the energetic Pitt, Sir William doubtless felt the loss of the Duke of Newcastle and of Lord Halifax, who had honored him with every token of respect when he was in London, and had since corresponded with him in a free and friendly manner on provincial concerns. They had twice sent him the King's commission of a colonel in the royal army and in 1756, that of a major-general. On their removal from power he must have apprehended that all his past services would, in a measure, be overlooked by young Pitt, to whom he was almost, if not entirely, a stranger. But such was not the case. The conquest of Louisburg was indelibly inscribed on the page of history, and Pitt learned from all quarters that no man in America wielded an influence like Pepperrell's. He had recently seen, too, that when Massachusetts was threatened with invasion from Fort William Henry, and the whole population was in the greatest consternation, lest the enemy should over-run the settlement with fire and sword, the eyes of all turned to the old hero of Louisburg as their leader, that they dropped their implements of husbandry in the field, seized their firelocks and marched forth in a mass under his banner to repel the enemy from the borders of the province.

"The moral influence of such a man on the masses Pitt knew how to appreciate, and felt the importance of enlisting it to the uttermost in the existing crisis, in the service of the crown, by such merited tokens of respect for his character and past services as it was in the power of the King to bestow. Accordingly his Majesty honored him with a commission of lieutenant-general in the royal army, bearing date February 20, 1759, an honor never before conferred on a native of America."

Seventh.

In closing this memorial we respectfully submit that colonials are justly entitled to larger representation in the Hall of Fame. It was said of them that "God sifted a whole nation to plant seed in the American Wilderness."

We owe to them:

1. The conversion of a wilderness into fruitful fields, the establishment of manufactures, the development of commerce.

2. The successful struggle with the French and Indians who from Canada to Louisiana sought by a chain of forts to confine the English colonists to the Atlantic seacoast. In the course of this conflict, the colonists became a force in European politics. They took part in the war of Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' War, the great struggle which England, assisted by the armies of Frederick the Great, waged with France and Austria for supremacy in Europe, in America and India.

3. The colonists achieved a certain amount of refinement and cultivation in their commercial centers, and fostered both art and learning.

Pepperrell was conspicuous in all the fields in which the colonies manifested their greatness.

First, as a colonizer. His estates were larger than those of any other American, except some of the royal patentees such as William Penn. No other colonist had such large commercial interests. This wealth and power were produced by the energy of Pepperrell and Son, the father having come to this country without a shilling. William Pepperrell could ride from his home in Kittery to Saco, without going off his own estates. No American showed more power and energy in subduing the wilderness and bringing commerce to our shores. He advanced for the Louisburg Expedition £5,000, a princely gift for those days, £2,000 more than the colony of New York supplied. Four hundred men enlisted from his own town of Kittery.

Second. Kittery was a border town, and "Pepperrell's Fort" in that town was a military outpost. Sir William, as we have seen, was from his earliest years commander of the militia of Maine. As Stevens says of him, — "The youth smelled powder before he reached his teens." Not only by arms, but also by wise negotiations, he protected the colonists from Indian incursions.

He was the most conspicuous figure in America during the war of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' War, and thus achieved a greater international reputation than any American prior to the Revolution.

Third. No house in the colonies was more the center of culture than his. He was the patron of men of letters, and the benefactor of American colleges. He established the first public library of Maine. He designed the elaborate staircase in the Sparhawk house at Kittery, one of the finest specimens of colonial architecture in Eastern New England.

We would gladly present him to you as he appeared in the old State House, in the Hancock mansion in Boston, or in his own home at Kittery; as Copley and Smybert have depicted him on canvas; the well-knit frame, clad in the embroidered waistcoat and scarlet coat of the period, the regular features, oval face, the kindly but resolute eye, the manly carriage.

A fisherman's son, he raised himself to honor and wealth. Although not bred a lawyer, he presided with ability as chief justice. Although not trained a soldier, he commanded the armies of the colonies with courage, fortitude, foresight and success. No record has ever leaped to light that casts a shadow upon his memory. Just and upright in all his own dealings, he knew how to be generous and merciful to others; fearless and resolute himself, he knew how to encourage the wavering, and stimulate the doubting. He was politic without insincerity, liberal and hospitable without extravagance.

The one controlling purpose of his life was duty. He became in youth a member of the Congregational Church, and continued a devout and consistent adherent to its principles. He chose for the name of the church in Kittery, which his father and he aided to establish, — not any denominational name, but — The Church of Christ. He was a warm friend of Edwards, and raised £700 to aid in his work among the Stockbridge Indians. He was free from that narrowness and bigotry that disfigure the character of

some of the New England colonial leaders. At home and abroad, in the counting-house and the Legislature, on the Bench or in command of the provincial army, he embodied in action the religious conviction that became in youth an essential part — indeed, the foundation, of his whole character. Perhaps the best evidence of this is that prosperity never made him arrogant, or marred the simplicity and straightforwardness of the man. And thus, to the day of his death, he enjoyed alike the confidence of the Indians in the Maine forests, the British Governors sent to rule the provinces, the merchants of Boston and London, the aristocracy of Beacon Street, and his neighbors at Kittery.

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The statements in the foregoing memorial are the result of a very careful examination made by me of these authorities and particularly of the contemporary accounts, many of them in manuscript in the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, New York Historical Society and the New York State Library. The latter, alas! have been destroyed by fire since I consulted them.

It will be observed that in some of the statements, and particularly those relating to the careful preparations made for the expedition and the skill with which it was conducted, we differ somewhat from the current accounts. It is not surprising that a person making a special study of the life of an individual, or an enterprise in which he was engaged, should make a more thorough investigation of that subject than an historian of the century.

Everett P. Wheeler.

Inscription on Tablet at Kittery Point on the Family Tomb-lot of the Pepperrells

In Commemoration
of the
Courage, Wisdom and Patriotism
of
Col. William Pepperrell
Born in Devonshire, 1646
Died in Kittery, 1734
and of His Son
Sir William Pepperrell, Bart.
Born in Kittery, 1696
Died in Kittery, 1759
Chief Justice of the
Court of Common Pleas
President of the Council of Massachusetts.
He Commanded the Colonial Forces
At the Successful Siege of
Louisburg, 1745,
and in Recognition of His Services
Was Made a Baronet and
General of the Army
Honors Never Before Conferred
on a Colonial.
Erected by the Pepperrell Association
1907.

APPENDIX.

Extracts from the London Magazine, 1744, 1745.

"*The importance of Cape Breton to the British Nation. Humbly represented by Robert Auchmuty, Judge of his Majesty's Court of Vice-Admiralty for the Provinces of Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire, in New England.*

" This Island, situated between Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, the English exchanged with the French for Placentia in the treaty of Utrecht; and, during the late Peace between the two Nations, the French, by the Advantage of Place, carried on an unbounded Fishery, annually employing at least 1,000 Sail, from 200 to 401 Tons, and 20,000 Men. In the year 1730 there was a Computation made of 220,000 Quintals of Fish at Marseilles, only for a Market; and, communibus Annis, they cure above five Millions of Quintals. How dangerous a Nursery of Seamen this Island therefore has been, and ever will be, while in their Possession, is too obvious to a British Constitution; and it is as demonstrable, the Recovery of a place of this Consequence will entirely break up their Fishery, and destroy this formidable Seminary of Seamen; for if they are happily removed from this advantageous Shelter, no Protection is left for them on the Fishing Ground nearer than Old France; therefore they will not expose themselves to the frequent Surprizes and Captures of the English from this Island and the Continent; but, finally, will be oblig'd to quit the Undertaking, leaving the English in the sole possession of this most valuable Branch of Trade, which annually will return to the English Nation 2,000,000 Pounds Sterling, for the Manufactures yearly shipp'd to her Plantations; and constantly employ Thousands of Families otherwise unserviceable to the Public; and greatly increase Shipping and Navigation, and Mariners. It is further to be observed, while the English solely supply Foreign Markets with this Commodity, Roman Catholick Families must have a sort of Dependency on them.

" Moreover, the Acquisition of this important Island cuts off all Communication between France and Quebec, the Navigation to Canada River bearing near it; and must obstruct the French Navigation through the Bay of St. Lawrence to the only Possessions the French have upon the Sea Coast to the Northward of Louisiana, in the great Bay of Mexico.

" By this means, Quebec must, in the Run of very little Time, fall into the Hands of the English; and the Indians, wanting the useful Protection and Supplies from France, will be obliged to count the English for both; and having once experienced the Treatment of both Nations, as the latter can supply them better and cheaper than the former they will consequently be riveted in Interest to her; and thus the English will render themselves entirely Masters of the rich and profitable Furr-Trade, at present chiefly engrossed by the French.

" But the consideration alone, that the British Navigation and Settlements on the Sea Coasts throughout North America, at present lie terribly exposed to Men of War and Privateers from the Island, claims an Attention to proper Measures for immediately regaining Possession of it; For from thence the French, with Ease and Little Time may station themselves in Lattitudes proper to intercept the Navigation between England and all her Plantations, and the intercourse of Trade subsisting between one Plantation and another, by Captures, supplying themselves with English Manufacturers, Naval Stores, Masts, Yards, Plank, Lumber, Sugar, Cotton, Provisions &c. and from its vicinity with the Continent may, with the like Ease, surprize our Settlements all along the Coast and take the Mast Ships when loaded out of Casco and Portsmouth Harbors; Whereas the Accession of this Island to the British Dominions will not only secure our Navigation and guard

our Coasts in America; but will be a safe retreat for our men of war in the Hurrican months, or when threaten'd with a superior Force; Besides, there they with greater Safety and less Expense to the Crown, may refit then in any other Harbour in North America." (See London Mag. 1744, p. 444, reprinted in same magazine, July 23, 1745.)

"TUESDAY, July 23, 1745.

"At noon the Lords of the Regency in Council, ordered the Tower and Park Guns to be fired for the Taking of Cape Breton which was accordingly done at Three o'Clock; in the Evening the publick Offices, &c. were illuminated, and the Night, concluded with Bonfires Ringing of Bells and all other Demonstrations of Joy. (See p. 353.)

"The same Day, at a Court of Aldermen, the following Motion was made by Mr. Alderman Baker: 'To congratulate his Majesty on the Success of his Majesty's Forces in the Conquest of the Town and Fort of Louisburg, and the Island of Cape Breton; The Possession of which, and the Fisheries of those Seas, have been the great Causes of the Increase of the American Trade to France and the greatest Supports to the Naval Power of that Kingdom.' After a long Debate, the Court broke up without coming to any Resolution."

"WESTMINSTER JOURNAL, Aug. 3, 1745. No. 192.

"*Reflections occasioned by the late Conquest of Cape Breton.* (See p. 353.)

"The Island of Cape Breton is at last taken, and we have had our Day of Rejoicings, in which I more heartily join'd than on any other Occasion since the War has begun. A most valuable Acquisition undoubtedly it is, if we take Care to keep it upon a Peace, and are as industrious to improve it afterwards, as the late Possessors have been for thirty Years past.

"But to whom are we to ascribe the Glory of this successful Expedition? To what Cause this Dissimilitude of all other military Operations, that it was conducted with Secrecy, Prudence, and Resolution? That all obstructions were foreseen and obviated, and every Precaution taken?

"Could we answer, To the M—y, it would almost tempt me to think, that the Spirit of Wisdom was returning to our Councils, and that the Broad-Bottoms had borne in a Set of political Heads: — But the contrary is too evident from all the Accounts of this Affair, since we had the first Intimation that it would be attempted. New England, I suspect, has so much Right to the Glory of this Plan, that I am afraid scarce a Glimpse of it can ever reach the Old.

"The prodigious Advantages of this Acquisition, as set forth in the Oration exciting to the Attempt, I confess, are beyond what I had ever conceived. (See p. 354.) But should they prove somewhat less, the Benefit of securing our Northern Colonies on the Atlantic, and in Time perhaps for wearing out those of the French on the River St. Lawrence, must be very considerable; And, above all, if we have but a true Attention to our own Interest, the adding to ourselves, by this Means, whatever we wrest from the Enemy in their Fishery, must be a growing Fund of Wealth, and Nursery of Mariners.

"All these advantages, and perhaps many more, were well considered in New England; and I am assured, that, contrary, to the old English Method, a most exact Information was procured of the State of the Place in every Respect, the Strength of the Garrison, and the most proper Season for attacking it; Which was punctually attended to in every Step of the Execution.

" That, after the Design was compleatly formed, there was so far a Concurrence here, that Mr. Warren, was permitted to assist in it, must indeed be owned: But I am apt to think, that in Order to procure this Concurrence, the Particulars of the Secret were not communicated; because if they had, I should not have hoped to see them long conceal'd, even from the Enemy; and we have but too often seen our best Projects ruin'd by being discovered.

" But if all our Expeditions had been undertaken with the same Views, Views to the Increase and Security of our Commerce, and conducted with the same Secrecy and Regularity, does not this Success afford a very good Specimen of what might have been done? A small Body of Troops, for the most part Militia, and a very small Royal Squadron, have effected more in a few months for the publick Service, than had been before done by our numerous Fleets, charged with regular Troops and Marines, in a War of near six Years Continuance."

That the Louisburg Expedition was not only one of great importance but that the memory of it as a famous event in the Colonial history is still preserved is well illustrated by the following extract from the National Geographic Magazine of July, 1920:

" THE ROMANTIC STORY OF LOUISBURG.

" The story of Louisburg, a fortress twenty-five years in the building, at a cost of six millions of dollars — more than four times that sum in the value of our money — its two sieges, and its final demolition, is the best known chapter of Cape Breton's history.

" Perhaps in the annals of the New World there is no story so romantic as that of a city, ramparted and bastioned and bristling with cannon, sheltering the lives of thousands of souls, with its imposing public buildings, its cathedral, convent and hospital, its theater, and even its brewery, springing up on the shores of this far-off island in the North Atlantic — an island almost unexplored and inhabited by savages not always friendly, and for half a century remaining a challenge and a menace to the neighboring colonies of a rival power.

" The fortress became not only the base of French naval power in America, but, with outlying posts at St. Peters, Ingonish and St. Anns, the resort of privateers that infested the New England coast and the haven to which they conveyed their spoils.

" Upon the outbreak of war between France and England, in 1744, it may be imagined that to the colonists of Massachusetts and New Hampshire the reduction of this stronghold of His Most Christian Majesty was a highly attractive project.

"*A Siege that Foreshadowed the American Revolution.*

" The first siege and capture of Louisburg by the little band of New England militiamen under Pepperrell, with the British West India fleet under Warren, probably foreshadowed the American Revolution. Of these intrepid colonists one historian says:

" ' Their expedition against Cape Breton was their first national enterprise and its result their first national triumph, and it presaged greater things. There were not wanting those who saw in the downfall of Louisburg the independence of the American colonies. . . . The dormant idea of national separation was fanned into flame before the walls of Louisburg.'

" On the surface, however, it was purely a British exploit to 'curb the haughtiness of France.'

" There were military honors and a title for Pepperrell; and New York and Philadelphia and Boston rang loyally with:

" ' A glorious peace we shall have soon
For we have conquered Cape Breton,
With a fa, la, la,' etc.,

to the accompaniment of bell-ringing and bonfires and tubs of punch.

" The descendants of these enthusiastic citizens, the Society of Colonial Wars, have erected a granite shaft to the heroic dead of this enterprise, and it stands on the spot where Pepperrell, in the presence of the assembled troops, received from the military governor the keys of this ' most splendid city of La Nouvelle France.'

" All England celebrated the victory; there were illuminations and the firing of salutes, and the captured colors of the fortress were deposited with much pomp in St. Paul's Cathedral.

" With the closing of this refuge of Atlantic privateers ' marine insurance on Anglo-American vessels fell at once from 30 to 12 per cent.'

" *Gallantries in Time of War.*

" Subsequently the island was restored to France — as much a cause for irritation to New England, and perhaps more justly so, than that which precipitated a tea-party better known. And again the fortunes of war and the final supremacy of Anglo-Saxon arms in the New World made it permanently a British possession.

" The giant fortress of Louisburg was demolished in favor of the newly fortified base at Halifax — a military necessity that is deplored by the visitor of to-day."

Extract from American History by David Saville Muzzey, Ph.D. (p. 93.)

" A glorious exploit of the Colonial troops in this war was the capture in 1745 of the informing fortress of Louisburg on Cape Breton Island commanding the mouth of the St. Lawrence. Colonel William Pepperrell of Maine was in command of the expedition. His army consisted almost wholly of troops voted by the New England legislature. The restoration of the fortress to France in the peace of 1748 created bitter feeling in the breasts of the New England yeoman who thought that the mother country underrated their sacrifices and courage."

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